

CONFIDENTIAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK

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FILE NO.

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 4/28/54	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 9/15, 20, 26; 11/17; 12/1/53;	REPORT MADE BY GUSTAV S. ABRANDT cf
TITLE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was		1/7, 12, 18, 20, 21, 28; 2/5, 11; 3/1, 6, 10; 4/1, 7/54	CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C; PERJURY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

10WB

Subject continues residence at Apartment 3F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, where he is reported as self-employed and engaged in writing newspaper articles and a book. Wife reported as ill. Pending perjury trial, SDNY, marked off calendar and trial probably will be held in the fall of 1954. Current newspaper articles written by BROWDER denounce present CP line and "McCarthyism", and discuss relations with FDR. Additional prior CP activities reported.

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DETAILS: BY ~~SDNY~~ I. BACKGROUNDPosted
~~SL~~A. Employment

T-1, of known reliability, advised in November of 1953 that EARL RUSSELL BROWDER apparently still works out of his apartment at Seven Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, but evidently is living on a closer budget than previously.

T-2, of unknown reliability, who has furnished some reliable information in the past, advised in January, 1954 that EARL BROWDER was submitting articles for publication to the North American Newspaper Alliance, and that he had

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received an offer from LAWRENCE SPIVAK to appear on "Meet the Press", but that the idea had fallen through since BROWDER was still under indictment and would have to get permission from the Federal District Court to appear.

T-2 also alleged that SPIVAK and others had offered BROWDER \$25,000.00 for his memoirs, but that BROWDER had refused this offer since they insisted on the right to edit the book.

The newspaper articles written by BROWDER are reported under that caption.

In February, 1954 T-2 reported that EARL BROWDER and his brother, WILLIAM, were visiting Sufiern, New York for a week in order to work on a book that BROWDER was writing. According to T-2, part of this book will deal with the association of EARL BROWDER with JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS and the late President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. *D.C.*

B. Residence

T-3, of known reliability, reported observing subject in the vicinity of his residence at Seven Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, on January 20 and 21, 1954. It was further reported by T-1, previously mentioned, that as of April 7, 1954 the subject still resided at this address.

C. Relatives

T-1 furnished the information that in November, 1953 Mrs. BROWDER appeared to be very sick, that she had lost weight and dragged her feet when she walked. In April, 1954 T-1 further reported that Mrs. BROWDER was "all crippled up" and had become a wheelchair patient. He advised that subject takes Mrs. BROWDER out in the wheelchair once weekly to visit some unnamed physician.

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In January, 1954 T-2, previously mentioned, advised that BROWDER's wife was apparently quite sick, and that BROWDER was very much concerned about her welfare.

The "Herald-Statesman", a Yonkers, New York newspaper, published on December 9, 1953 that Dr. FELIX EARL BROWDER, son of subject, was to report for induction into the Armed Forces of the United States through Local Board #7, Yonkers. The article announced that Dr. BROWDER's Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship grant for a year's study at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey had been postponed. The article also reflected that Dr. BROWDER and his wife were registered with one of the two major political parties.

T-4, of known reliability, advised in December, 1953 that Dr. FELIX EARL BROWDER would be inducted into the United States Army on December 4, 1953.

D. Miscellaneous

T-5, of known reliability, advised in September, 1953 that one [redacted] was EARL BROWDER's [redacted] [redacted] while BROWDER's wife was in Russia, [redacted] is supposed to have attended the International Lenin School, according to T-5. T-5 claimed not to have seen or heard about [redacted]. [redacted] since 1940. 700(u)

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JUNE CROLL, as JUNE GORDON, is described by T-6, of known reliability, as Executive Director of the Federation of Emma Lazarus Jewish Womens' Club of the International Workers Order (IWO).

The IWO has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

II. STATUS OF PROSECUTION

Assistant United States Attorney JAMES B. KILSHEIMER, III, Southern District of New York, advised on March 1, 1954 that the perjury trial pending against EARL

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and IRENE BROWDER had been marked off the calendar, and that it was doubtful whether the trial would be held before the fall of 1954.

III. CURRENT ACTIVITIES

A. Public Statements

The "Brooklyn Eagle", a daily newspaper published at Brooklyn, New York, in its issue of October 5, 1953 carried an article entitled, "Russia Opposes Red China Entry to UN, Says Browder." In this article BROWDER is quoted in part as follows:

"Earl Browder, one-time Head of the US Communist Party, said today he believes Russia is as eager as the United States to keep Communist China out of the United Nations.

"Browder said China could never escape from Soviet domination so long as it is isolated from the influence of the rest of the world.

"Browder said the Russians themselves are 'prisoners of their own system, and the world holds them there with the cold war which neither side seems to know how to stop.'"

The article further relates:

"Browder said the Communist movement had failed in this country because 'democratic ideas proved more dynamic than Communist dogma.'"

The article concluded as follows:

"Browder said that 'aside from technological progress' Russia today is in a 'pitiful' condition of arrested revolution with 'completely abnormal political relationships and stultification of thinking.'

"Moscow is what the West has made it. We are paying for our past sins. We taught them the only way to find a place in the world was with military power. I don't admire the military in any nation.

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"I'm not very popular today. I never did fit in a pigeon hole. I was not a 100 percent doctrinaire Communist. Today I am not a 100 percent anti-Communist."

The East Coast daily Communist newspaper, the "Daily Worker" in its issue of October 7, 1953 in answer to the above article described BROWDER as:

"Opening up a new attack on the peace camp by advocating a Washington tactic aimed at splitting China from the Soviet Union" and as "echoing the basic McCarthyite thesis that the danger of war came from Socialist countries."

B. Newspaper Articles

T-2 in January of 1954 furnished two articles which he stated had been written by EARL BROWDER for the North American Newspaper Alliance for publication in newspapers throughout the United States. In the first article BROWDER decried the "childish nonsense" appearing in various newspaper stories concerning his relations with the late President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, stating that "the only elements of truth in these fairy tales are, first, that I co-operated with ROOSEVELT during the war in every way I knew how, as representative of an influential group in the labor movement; and second, that Miss Adams as a mutual friend of the two of us, was helpful in making that co-operation easier, and in removing possible misunderstandings."

The article goes on to state that "the world leadership of the Communist movement turned against such co-operation and brought about my removal from my leading role." BROWDER states further that "I have had nothing in common with the American Communists since then, shared no responsibility for their policy or activities, and have no first hand knowledge of them. For years I have not considered myself a Communist and the Communists themselves denounce me as one of their most deadly enemies."

BROWDER continues in this article with criticism of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' policies since

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the close of World War II, citing dictatorship over countries in its orbit, repudiation of national self-determination, repressive inner policy and anti-semitism, all revealing "that the Communist world lives in the 'twilight' of medieval intrigue and despotism."

BROWDER concluded the article by declaring that after breaking with the "McCarthy's of Moscow", "I can't join the 'McCarthy's of Washington'.", explaining that the "organized anti-Communists are only an inverted form of the same thing I had broken with."

The second article likewise relates to BROWDER's relations with FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Since it describes details of BROWDER's activity in this regard, the following relevant parts are quoted:

"There was never anything secret or conspiratorial in my relations with Roosevelt. They were part of the gold-fish bowl of American political life. Sometimes I was in opposition to him, more often I cooperated with him for the general social aims of the New Deal. During the War, the movement I headed including in its influence a broad section of Labor, was most emphatically in support of the President. It is this War period that is now being given public attention.

"When America first entered the War I was in a Federal Prison, and in May, 1942, President Roosevelt ordered my release 'to strengthen national unity.' This action is made the opening scene of the mystery drama in Washington, in which the Government sponsors the witnesses Meyer, Lautner, and Budens. These witnesses testify as fact the contents of gossip stories they have picked up, beginning with the tale that Miss Josephine Adams "negotiated" some sort of deal which brought about my release.

"The fact is I did not then know Miss Adams, and she could not possibly have negotiated for me. Later, however, Miss Adams told me she spoke to Roosevelt about my case and found him already convinced I should be released. He had read the Government's brief in the Supreme Court, which admitted there was no moral turpitude on my part and that the charges against me were purely technical, which

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"made him think my imprisonment had been unnecessarily savage. He was doubtful only as to the moment for my release. This doubt was resolved not by Miss Adams, but by Fiorello LaGuardia who told the President not to fear his right-wing opponents could make any political capital out of it. Another one who advised Roosevelt to release me at that time was the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as I learned from him later when he gave me the original letter from Roosevelt acknowledging this advise.

"In the fall of 1942, I received from Mao Tse-tung in China some information showing that the Kuomintang Armies were diverted from the anti-Japanese front to blockade the Communist areas. This I sent to Roosevelt, and then made a public speech charging that American influences had caused this weakening of the war against Japan. I was then invited to meet Sumner Welles at the State Department; he, saying he spoke at the request of the President, read to me a statement declaring American policy in China was to avoid armed conflicts between Chinese forces, and to unify them for the war against Japan. With the consent of Welles, I cabled his statement to China, where it exerted a big influence in postponing the Chinese civil war. In 1950 I testified at length concerning these facts before a Senate Committee.

"In 1943 my only exchange of written communications with Roosevelt took place. In connection with the dissolution of the Comintern, a member of its Executive Committee for Argentina was seized by the Argentine Government for deportation to Spain where he faced certain execution. I was fearful that this would be interpreted by Communist leaders, especially the Russians, as due to American influence and a sign that this country rejected any improvement of relations as a consequence of the Comintern dissolution. I communicated my worry to Roosevelt by word of mouth through three channels, to be sure it reached him, and then I sent him a public telegram asking his intervention. I immediately received a personal letter from Roosevelt saying he had no confirmation of the facts, that I would understand the issue was under exclusive Argentine jurisdiction, but that he was asking Ambassador Norman Armour to keep him informed of developments. A few days later came another letter from the

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"President saying that Armour reported that the Argentine Government would not deport the Communist leader to Spain but would hold him in his own country. I thanked the President for his generous intervention. That closed my only written correspondence with Roosevelt.

"During 1943, American-Soviet relations were severely strained by the delay in opening the second front through France. I made several public speeches giving an American interpretation of the Soviet attitude on this question. I pointed out that Soviet Armies were advancing fast and would probably occupy all Central European capitals before the second front in the West was well under way. I warned that the disposition of armies at the time of Hitler's defeat would decide the shape of the peace, and that the advanced position of Russian forces would make the peace unpalatable to America. If America wanted a peace to correspond to her own preconceptions, then Anglo-American Armies would have to move faster into the Continent, for otherwise there is not the slightest prospect for us to emerge from this war with anything that can properly be called victory.'

"I sent copies of these speeches to Roosevelt, and was told that he read them with interest.

"There was much press comment on my speeches at the time. Walter Lippmann accused me of 'bitterly provocative words' and said: 'It is quite evident from a close reading of his speech that, while recklessly exploiting his knowledge to further his political views, he is by no means altogether uninformed about matters which have been earnestly debated for some 18 months.' Another commentator said angrily: 'It is utterly childish to ignore or ridicule what he says....As I read his speech I was certain that he was issuing a signal warning...that Soviet Russia would act independently on the peace front because the United States and Great Britain acted independently of Russia in the war strategy.' No one accused me of misinterpreting the Russian point of view. Certainly I was not lulling Americans to sleep about the harsh realities of Soviet-American relations.

"During the same year occurred the Hull-Welles

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"feud in the State Department. George Creel published a statement, obviously inspired by some inside circles, that Earl Browder had engineered this fight to force Hull out and replace him by Welles, because the latter was more favorable to Russia. That was doubly untrue, I was not trying to be a cabinet maker and I did not favor Welles over Hull, and I asked my friends to tell the President so. In answer I received a suggestion that I write a letter to Hull telling him the same thing. I did so, and was told that the President considered it a big help.

"These are the significant items of the Roosevelt-Browder relationship during the war. It was all within the framework of the common war effort, and related to politics only within that framework. It was perfectly normal procedure in a democracy. The dark hints that there was conspiracy and subversion connected with it would be too silly to answer, being too much like an echo from the Kremlin, if it were not for the ominous fact that the fairy tales are solemnly sponsored by the Administration before an official tribunal.

"When Roosevelt went on his final trip South he sent word to me that upon his return he would like for me to visit him. But he never returned, so I never met him."

With reference to the above articles of BROWDER, T-2 advised that BROWDER's attack on the Soviet Union had resulted in a split between BROWDER and ABRAHAM HELLER, who had adhered to him throughout his expulsion from the Communist Party. T-2 stated that the articles had appeared in several newspapers throughout the United States.

T-2 in March of 1954 furnished a series of twelve additional articles which T-2 described as having been written by BROWDER for publication throughout the Spadea Syndicate, Inc., 120 West 31st Street, New York City. According to T-2, the articles have not yet been published because of their controversial nature. The series is

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entitled, "Earl Browder Talks", and each article contains BROWDER's byline. They are summarized as follows:

1. "Why I Was Expelled from the Communist Party."

BROWDER discusses his book, "Teheran", stating, "Behind the Iron Curtain, Communist officials are being hung for having read it and having been influenced by it. In Washington officials are under attack for allowing it to be found on the shelves of a library." He quoted from the book, "Teheran represents a firm and growing COMMON INTEREST among the leaders who gathered there, their government, the ruling classes they represent, and the peoples of the world." The "flat rejection of the 'Teheran' Declaration" by Communist leaders after the war was responsible, according to BROWDER, for his removal from leadership and expulsion from the Communist Party USA.

BROWDER concludes: "With Hitler out of the way, the menace which had welded Allied-Soviet unity at Teheran during the war disappeared. On both sides it was assumed that the Teheran concord was no longer important. That is why both sides, which had praised my book while the war still hung in the balance, sneered at it and rejected it as soon as the Nazis were defeated."

2. "How the FBI Infiltrated the Communist Party!"

BROWDER in this article states his "expulsion was brought about by a united front between JACQUES DUCLOS and J. EDGAR HOOVER, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and their respective agents." BROWDER quotes United States Government witness, HERBERT PHILBRICK, who in his book, "I Lived Three Lives", relates that when in the Communist Party he challenged "Browderism" as a "betrayal of the revolution", and subsequently, on the publication of the Duclos letter attacking BROWDER, found his prestige in the Party considerably enhanced.

BROWDER states, "Undoubtedly there are many more agents like Philbrick securely ensconced in the remnants of the Communist Party, and perhaps even running its organizational department."

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He concludes by stating, "During my fifteen years at the head of the Communist Party I was able to sterilize the activities of the spy-provocateurs by making the Party completely legal. I made sure such spies had a minimum to work on."

3. "How the Government Aids the Communists"

In this article BROWDER states, "The Russians thought they needed most of all in America a spectre to frighten and provoke this country into ill considered policies." He declares that the Communist Party USA committed suicide in 1945 when it accepted this Russian policy. He then related that the United States Government came to the rescue of the Communist Party USA "with the pulmotor of the Smith Act prosecutions" to give "the Communist corpse a new, even if precarious, lease on life", so that "instead of standing before the world as bankrupt in competents, they were 'martyrs' and 'victims'."

BROWDER also stated that Soviet provocation "furnished a mass basis for the astounding rise of McCarthyism in the United States.

"No one in the world is quite so pleased by the exploits of Joe McCarthy as the Russians are. For McCarthy is driving toward the same goal as the Communists--namely, to drive everyone to the Right or to the Left, to destroy completely the middle ground which is the essence of the American democratic system and without which democracy is stifled."

4. "On the Problem of Former Communists"

BROWDER states that "there are but a handful of Communists in America today", either Communist Party members or those accepting Communist Party leadership. He estimates there are 700,000 former Communist Party members, and undoubtedly several million who once consciously cooperated with the Communist Party. He declares that not one in a hundred of the above "has ever been even slightly sympathetic toward the ideas and practices that now go under the name of Communism". The article then goes into considerable detail

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to illustrate his theme "that it is very unintelligent to deal with this large body of former Communists and former near Communists on the pattern set by Senator McCarthy."

5."On My Relations with Franklin Roosevelt"

This article repeats much of the material reported above in the articles BROWDER wrote for the North American Newspaper Alliance, his main emphasis being on two themes; "Never at any time was I in the White House, and I never met Roosevelt face to face", and "My real and public collaboration with the President resulted from political understandings arrived at through the public speeches and official acts of the Communist Party, under my leadership."

6."Facts Behind the Browder Case"

This article sets forth BROWDER's interpretation of events leading to the present prosecutions of BROWDER and his wife, and since it may be indicative of his possible defenses, it is being set out in full:

"For eight years I have tried to be a private citizen, keep out of the newspapers and, at last, live a normal life with my family. But I have not been permitted to do so. Both the Communists and the American Government have had other ideas about me.

"For the Communists my name is a standing fixture in their headlines as a conspirator trying to overthrow the Soviet Union, as a warmonger, and--believe it or not--an 'agent of Wall Street.'

"I don't know if Wall Street is able to laugh or not, but if it can it should have lots of chuckles reading the Daily Worker. But since, luckily for me, I am not under the jurisdiction of a Communist Government, I have been able to ignore the new Communist mythology.

"On the other hand, being an American citizen, I cannot in the same way ignore the American Government, which has its own mythology built around my name. And this mythology started a new round of troubles for me in 1950.

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"I was subpoenaed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as a witness in the investigation of Senator McCarthy's notorious charges of Communist infiltration into the State Department, on the demand of McCarthy himself.

"I appeared and answered some 300 questions, covering a wide range of subjects pertinent and impertinent. I answered every question pertinent to the inquiry, and at the conclusion I was thanked by the chairman for my cooperation.

"But Senator McCarthy was not satisfied. He was furious. He made a two-hour speech on the Senate floor demanding my citation for perjury or contempt, he didn't care which. My testimony had flatly contradicted that of his favorite witness, Budenz, and I had rejected a few questions as irrelevant.

"McCarthy got his citation, and I was indicted. In 1951 I came to trial, acted as my own defense attorney, and won acquittal. A nice old Republican judge, appointed by Herbert Hoover, said the government's own witnesses proved my case for me, and dismissed the charges.

"After this it might be reasonable to expect the authorities to permit me to live in peace.

"But no. In September, 1952, Mr. Roy Cohn, then an assistant federal attorney in New York, sent a message to me through Dr. Bella Dodd, a former Communist recently enlisted in his work, that he wanted my cooperation in a similar line. Along with this invitation was a warning--if I refused, my wife and I would be indicted and sent to prison, since Mr. Cohn had 'an open-and-shut' case against us, so the message said.

"When I respectfully declined the offer, the indictment followed. This was distinctly unpleasant, but I had learned since my childhood in Kansas that the worst error one can make in life is to yield to blackmail.

"We were charged with falsely swearing that my wife was not a party member, in connection with her application for citizenship in 1946. On September 30, my wife and I were arrested, and spent ten days in jail before we

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"could persuade the District Attorney to accept our bail bonds.

"At the dismissal of the grand jury, the Court was told, and the newspapers reported, that the indictment of the Browders was the great personal achievement of Mr. Roy Cohn. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Cohn was appointed counsel for Senator McCarthy.

"In November, Mr. O. John Rogge, the former Assistant Attorney General, appeared in Court as our attorney, to argue motions to dismiss the indictment as defective. But the Government was not ready.

"It was ready to indict and imprison us, it had been preparing the case for twelve years--but it was not ready to defend the validity of the indictment in an argument before the Court. It needed more time to find arguments for its demand to put us on trial. Postponement was granted, then another, a third and a fourth. Finally it was suggested that postponement should be without date, indefinitely--usually a preliminary to dropping the charges. It is very unusual for the Government to keep hanging an indictment which it is unprepared to stand as a legitimate one.

"Within 24 hours of the indefinite postponement, however, the Government struck at us again.

"The Attorney General ordered my wife arrested for deportation. His agents tried to enter my home by force to take her from a sick bed. They threatened to break in the door when I refused them admission. It was all staged as spectacularly as if it was a raid on the secret lair of an Al Capone, with dozens of reporters, photographers, a television outfit, and all the trimmings.

"Both the indictment and the deportation warrant were based upon issues long ago decided by the Government itself, as its highest levels, in favor of my wife and myself.

"Some nine years ago, after a five-year intensive

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"study of my wife's status, the Board of Immigration Appeals granted my Russian-born wife the status of a quota immigrant with the right of residence and to apply for citizenship, on condition that after pre-examination she go to Canada and return under such a visa.

"This decision said that 'doubts heretofore entertained' about Mrs. Browder's possible membership in prescribed organizations, 'have been dissipated by the last hearing.' It further said:

'There is nothing but favorable comment on the respondent's character and demeanor during the years she has lived in the United States.'

"This decision was thereafter approved by the Board of Visa Appeals, on which sat a former Federal Judge and a former Senator, after it had been cleared by the President of the United States, by the Secretary of State, and by the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I venture to say that rarely has a quota immigrant entered the United States with a more complete clearance or by high authorities.

"In September, 1944, Mrs. Browder entered the country as a quota immigrant. In 1945, my own connection with the Communist Party, which had caused all her trouble, also came to an end. Since then we have lived a secluded private life in Yonkers, New York, with no public activities of any sort.

"Why these old and already-decided issues should, after all these years, be dug out of the files in an unprecedented attempt to re-open them, is a deep mystery as yet unexplained. There is no possible legitimate motive. Obviously, high politics in the McCarthy style furnish the hidden motive.

"The whole case is arbitrary and capricious, and unworthy of the dignity and power of the United States.

"Far from having injured America, my wife, has on the contrary, made highly valuable contributions to it.

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"In her three sons she has contributed three scientists of outstanding records. The eldest, now 25, has just been awarded a Guggenheim Foundation grant to carry on his work at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton, after he was described to a Committee of Congress by an eminent authority as

'One of the most brilliant mathematicians in the world...(who) is turning out remarkably good work...in a field which the laws of radar, jet propulsion, atomic fission, all the basic laws of physics are expressed...He has made many new discoveries.'

"It would seem reasonable that such service to America should protect my wife against the harassments which are being inflicted upon her. She is entitled, at least, to unmolested residence with her family.

"During her twenty years in America, it should be obvious to any reasonable mind, Mrs. Browder could not possibly have been a hidden revolutionary conspirator seeking to overthrow the government, and at the same time the producer of three young scientists who have gained recognition beyond the ordinary, and who are recognized as assets to the country.

"An ancient adage may sum up the whole story:

'By their fruits ye shall know them.'"

7. "McCarthyism in Soviet Russia"

BROWDER herein defines McCARTHYISM "as a mixture of 'arrogance' and 'fear', due to the sudden rise to power of the United States and Soviet Russia, their inexperience in wielding such power, and the fears each sees in the power of the other." He relates that the United States' early development under a broad political democracy enables the United States to battle this "regressive tendency", while "Soviet McCarthy's" find points in Russian history and tradition to justify their excuses.

BROWDER concludes by stating, "I look to the United

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"States, therefore, for the most consistent role in reaching a world peace settlement."

8. "Comintern and Cominform"

BROWDER declares that "the Comintern drew its authority from a World Congress of Communist Parties, with a written Constitution carefully embodying the principles of democratic internationalism."

BROWDER distinguishes the Cominform as "an organ of the sternest discipline, the decisions of which were taken unilaterally by the Russian Party, and to which all Communists everywhere in the world were called to submit without question."

9. "Georgi Dimitroff--Case History of a Communist Leader"

BROWDER herein declared it would be accurate to call his policy "Dimitroff--ism", and that it was DIMITROFF's policy of rallying "all democratic forces against the rising storm of Hitlerism", the "popular front" policy, which vastly extended Communism's influence. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, according to BROWDER, ruthlessly reversed this policy after the war and purged its exponents in all Soviet controlled countries.

He concludes, "There are many adherents of socialism, among whom I am included, who find it impossible to accept the gallows as the principal means of changing policies and leadership--with the trap being sprung by an authority without responsibility and immune to criticism."

10. "Mao Tse-Tung and Tito"

BROWDER in this article contends that TITO did not break with the basic theories of Communism, but with the revised USSR doctrine that Moscow would run Yugoslavia, and not the Yugoslavs. BROWDER contends that "Russia will not make a ^{similar} mistake with China,---since China is twenty times bigger than Yugoslavia and equally as sensitive to its national independence.

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BROWDER points out that in 1949 MAO TSE-TUNG was denounced as a Titoite and Browderite by the Communist Party of India, but that the Chinese "rejected the campaign against MAO's supposed 'heresy' that came from India."

BROWDER declares, further, that "the policy of America makes it practically impossible for MAO TSE-TUNG to split with Moscow, even if he found his relationships there highly uncomfortable."

BROWDER advocates that the "United States start businesslike talks with new China--which certainly would make China more independent."

II. "Behind The Peace Offensive"

BROWDER states that "The extremists in the Soviet bloc want peace--but they define peace in terms to include the socialist revolution, the abolition of capitalism from the world.

"Senator McCarthy and his buddies want peace--but say it can be achieved only by crushing the Soviet Union and new China."

BROWDER contends, "To avoid a Third World War depends upon finding a way for capitalist and Communist nations to live in the same world without a military showdown--which--will destroy such civilization as the world knows today--on both sides."

BROWDER sees the immediate goal of the Russian peace offensive "either (1) to secure a disarmed and neutralized Germany in the West and Japan in the East or (2) in case the United States arms both Germany and Japan, to detach these two newly armed powers from America and fit them into the Soviet power block, in a special application of the slogan 'peaceful co-existence of systems' directed against and excluding America."

BROWDER declares that "Germany and Japan will stick with the United States so long as this is their surest way to avoid a Moscow-made revolution." He pointed

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out, however, with reference to point two that Soviet leaders "can guarantee the safety of their inner regimes, and then outbid the United States for their allegiance, by economic and political concessions such as the United States cannot match." These he includes as giving to Germany not only East Germany but other annexed territories, and offering favored position with reference to eastern markets and cheap raw materials, and similar concessions to Japan. BROWDER states that in such a way, Russia can checkmate the United States without war, thought at some political and economic cost, and "it is the part of prudence and wisdom, therefore, to assume that the Soviets will make use of such a policy, whatever its cost may be."

BROWDER does not furnish an alternative for the United States to this course of action, but concludes by denouncing the present Communist Party line, and expressing belief "in the capacity of America to make progress, and to rise above every crisis stronger than ever."

12. "Is Communism A New Faith?"

BROWDER expressed doubts that a study of Communism as a faith will explain its dynamic force in the world. He also expresses certainty that the official Communist dogma is no explanation, inasmuch as it "explains the dynamics of the Communist movement by the rise in modern industrial society of the working class (proletariat) and its aspiration to transform society in its own image." He points out in contradiction that "in America, country of the most advanced industrialization and the largest working class, Communism is perhaps weaker than in any other area." He points out further that Communism made no gains through the industrial proletariats of any highly industrialized country, and that, with the exception of China and Russia, Communism has come into power solely through occupation of a country by the Red Army. It is BROWDER's conclusion that Communism succeeds best among countries that have not reached the stage of development of advanced capitalism, and that "it is the revolt of the economically backward countries against the forces keeping them backward."

C. Miscellaneous

T-7, of known reliability, [advised in February,] X(u)

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[1954 that EARL BROWDER was reported as occasionally visiting VITO MARCANTONIO, but only in connection with legal problems, the nature of which were unknown to T-7.] X(u)

The "Daily Worker" of August 28, 1953 describes VITO MARCANTONIO as the former American Labor Party (ALP) Congressman from New York City and the New York State Chairman of the ALP.

Concerning the ALP, the following appears in a booklet entitled, "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, May 14, 1951:

"1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They have succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn Sections of the American Labor Party, but outside of New York City, they have been unable to win control.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, May 29, 1944, page 78.)

"2. Among 'organizations that are victims of Communist domination.' (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pages 40 and 41.)"

The New York "Daily News" on February 1, 1954 in the column entitled, "Broadway" by DANTON WALKER contained the item, "Earl Browder Is Spilling All He Knows to The G-Men, Including Some Eye Opening Revelations About Wall Street Characters."

It is noted in this connection that BROWDER has not submitted himself for interview by this Bureau.

IV. PRIOR ACTIVITY IN FURTHERANCE OF
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

T-8, of unknown reliability, who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who is a self-admitted former member of the Young Communist International (KIM), advised that in 1932 GIL GREEN told him that EARL BROWDER

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wished him to go to Russia to attend a Young Communist International Plenum on the united front movement. About eight months later in Moscow T-8 related he met BROWDER, who insisted he return to the United States, where he would be more valuable than in Moscow. T-8 stated he returned to the United States in 1933. In 1935 T-8 asked BROWDER for clearance to attend the World Youth Congress in Moscow. BROWDER approved the trip and supplied T-8 with sufficient funds therefor.

GIL GREEN, mentioned above, is a Communist Party functionary convicted for violation of the Smith Act in 1949.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former Communist Party member and former managing editor of the "Daily Worker" on January 6, 1954 advised that in the 1930's it was the general Communist Party custom to require a pledge of all new members "to rally the masses to the defense of the Soviet Union and to defend the fairness of the Leninist line as the means for achieving the dictatorship and the pro...".

BUDENZ recalled that sometime in 1936, possibly at Manhattan Center, EARL BROWDER gave a different pledge to several hundred new Communist Party members, that was even more sharply drawn to present the Communist Party's support of the Soviet Union.

GRANVILLE HICKS, self-admitted former Communist Party member, testified at a public hearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on February 26, 1953 that he found it impossible to accept the Nazi-USSR Pact of 1939 and went to New York to speak to EARL BROWDER who "simply paralleled the "Daily Worker" line espousing the Pact." According to HICKS, what BROWDER said "made it perfectly clear to me what should have been clear to me earlier, and that is that the Communist Party in the United States was wholly under the domination of the Soviet Union."

PAUL CROUCH, an admitted former member of the Communist Party, on February 18, 1954 testified at the prosecution of Communist Party leaders for violation of the Smith Act at the Federal District Court, St. Louis, Missouri. He

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related that he attended a Communist Party convention in November, 1940, at which time he was a regular delegate and head of the Tennessee State Delegation to the convention.

CROUCH stated he was a member of the steering committee at this convention, and that at a preconvention meeting EARL BROWDER spoke concerning the passage of the Voorhis Act which would force the Communist Party to register as a foreign agent, and that to circumvent this law, it was necessary for the Communist Party to formally disassociate itself from the Communist International.

CROUCH testified that BROWDER said this would only be a matter of formality, and that the relations of the Communist Party in the United States with the Communist International would in effect remain the same in the future as they had been in the past; that the Party had matured politically to a point where formality was not needed to establish the leadership of the Communist International over the American party, and that the resolutions that would be voted on in the convention were only a matter of legal formality to safeguard the Party.

T-9, of known reliability, in June of 1953 furnished the following reports of prior Communist Party activities of EARL BROWDER:

EARL BROWDER made a speech at a rally for freedom of anti-Fascist prisoners in North Africa which was held on March 4, 1943 at Manhattan Center under the auspices of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB). On September 28, 1944 a rally was held in Madison Square Garden under the auspices of the CPA in celebration of twenty-five years of Communist organization in the United States. EARL BROWDER was the main speaker of the evening and stated that the Communists have set as their supreme task, complete victory in the war. A forum entitled, "San Francisco -- And After" was held on May 24, 1945 at Town Hall, New York, sponsored by the Jefferson School of Social Science. EARL BROWDER was one of the speakers at this forum and spoke on behalf of the Communists. He stated that at San Francisco the American Government departed from the ROOSEVELT policy, and thereby broke the unity of The Big Three.

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The VALB, the Communist Political Association (CPA) and the Jefferson School of Social Science have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

T-10, another government agency conducting Security investigations, reported in November, 1952 that MANNING JOHNSON, a former Communist Party member, stated he knew the Commonwealth College to be Communistic, and that EARL BROWDER and other Communist Party leaders used to speak there.

T-11, of known reliability, advised on March 10, 1954 that during the time EARL BROWDER was in prison in 1942 he met and influenced a Puerto Rican newspaperman who was released from prison about the same time BROWDER was released, and who subsequently organized a Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) newspaper in New York City, which went out of business after about a year of publication.

It is noted that the NPPR has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

While the paper was being set up, the newspaperman occupied a temporary office at Communist Party USA Headquarters, 35 East 12th Street, New York City. He frequently consulted with BROWDER and sat in on national committee meetings when matters of interest concerning Puerto Rico were discussed.

According to T-12, of unknown reliability, who is in a position to report on NPPR functions, the man serving in prison with EARL BROWDER and who later tried to inject Communist Party principles into the NPPR organization was JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER, former general secretary of the NPPR, who published for about a year, the NPPR newspaper, "Pueblos Hispanos." N.Y.

V. RELATIONS WITH THE LATE PRESIDENT
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

JOHN LAUTNER, former Chairman of the Review Commission of the New York Communist Party, who was expelled from the Communist Party in January, 1950, advised on

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October 5, 1950 that during the war years around 1944 he was advised by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN that JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS was EARL BROWDER's personal contact at the White House.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN was a member of the National Commission, Communist Party USA, who was convicted on January 21, 1953 for violation of the Smith Act.

FRANK STRAUSS MYER, former Communist Party functionary in Chicago and former instructor at the Jefferson School of Social Science, advised Bureau Agents on January 7, 1954 that at about the time of the Duclos letter, he was introduced to EARL BROWDER by a fellow instructor, JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS, and that he subsequently saw BROWDER frequently for a period of seven months. He stated that shortly after the imprisonment of BROWDER, ADAMS was approached by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN to arrange a meeting with Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT. MYER believed that this meeting occurred around August 23, 1941, at which time ADAMS is alleged to have met the President and to have spoken privately with him concerning the BROWDER case, and moves to free BROWDER.

According to MYER, ADAMS related that the President asked her "how much strength is behind this", and indicated that the petition campaign for the release of BROWDER should be continued for pressure purposes, instructing ADAMS "to give me some proof of how much strength is behind this movement." The President is alleged to have requested that ADAMS arrange a counter demonstration to an American First Meeting to be held at Philadelphia.

According to MYER, ADAMS advised Communist Party functionaries who organized a strong counter rally which reportedly overshadowed the American First rally. ADAMS was alleged to have sent ~~press~~ clippings of the counter rally to the President who replied by sending her an airplane ticket to Washington.

MYER declared that ADAMS then proceeded to Washington and received word that in due course the release of BROWDER would be affected. MYER stated that ADAMS made trips at least on an average of once a month to Hyde Park, New York, and to Washington, D.C. to impart to ROOSEVELT the remarks

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of EARL BROWDER and vice versa. It was MYER's opinion that the private secretary of Mrs. ROOSEVELT was the person with whom ADAMS carried on most of her contacts on behalf of BROWDER and President ROOSEVELT.

MYER stated also that ROOSEVELT had expressed to ADAMS great admiration for BROWDER and wanted personally to meet him. According to MYER, BROWDER's thinking influenced ROOSEVELT at the Yalta Conference, inasmuch as the preparation for the conference included the question of creating an interim state of captured lands functioning under the protection of the armies of the Socialist Democratic State and the capitalist America.

MYER stated that shortly before ROOSEVELT went to Yalta, he allegedly took a small charm from a bracelet ADAMS wore. He subsequently advised her that he had given the charm to STALIN. ADAMS told MYER that later the charm had been returned to her by EARL BROWDER. MYER interpreted this as an indication that STALIN was aware of the tacit relationship between BROWDER and ROOSEVELT.

MYER stated that on one occasion BROWDER was supposed to have received some official or semi-official papers from a Chinese Communist who had brought them from the Chinese mainland. These papers ADAMS is alleged to have delivered to ROOSEVELT.

MYER also commented that ADAMS was the person who arranged for BROWDER's passport through former President TRUMAN at the time BROWDER made his much publicized trip to Moscow. MYER declared that through ADAMS the protection of the American Embassy was extended to BROWDER during his sojourn in Russia, and that he spent some two hours talking to former Ambassador BEDELL SMITH.

MYER stated also that ADAMS arranged through former President TRUMAN for the acceptance of IRENE BROWDER's visit to Canada to enable her to reenter the United States for citizenship purposes.

MYER declared that BROWDER's support of ROOSEVELT and his connection with the late President was an "open secret" within the Communist Party and in high government circles.

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MYER was subsequently interviewed on January 28, 1954 and he advised further that he had had several conversations with BROWDER over a period of time and had received the impression from him that former Presidential Advisor LAUCHLIN BERNARD CURRIE was very close to the Communist Party. MYER declared that JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS in describing her conversations with President ROOSEVELT in her effort to free BROWDER, stated that things happened in such a way that she felt that others were "pushing in the same direction" to persuade the President on behalf of the Communist Party, and mentioned Presidential Advisor DAVID K. NILES as a possibility in this regard. She told MYER that the person responsible for the "freeing of BROWDER" was a source very close to the President who dealt with minority groups, which MYER took to mean NILES, whom he felt was likewise close to the Communist Party.

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INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished	Location
T-1 [redacted]	Employment, residence, illness of Mrs. BROWDER	11/17/53 4/7/54 11/17/53	SA DANIEL H. LUCKING SA DANIEL H. LUCKING SA DANIEL H. LUCKING	100-25693-1167 100-25693-1206 b7D 100-25693-1167
T-2 [redacted]	Employment	1/12/54	SA JOHN J. McMANUS	100-25693- 1183
	Employment	2/11/54	SA THOMAS G. SPENCER	100-25693- 1191
	Illness of Mrs. BROWDER	1/18/54	SA GERALD J. FLYNN	100-25693- 1195
	Articles for North American Newspaper Alliance	1/12/54	SA JOHN J. McMANUS	100-25693- 1179, 1180
	1/20/54		SA JOHN J.	100-25693-
	Split between BROWDER and HELLER		McMANUS	1185
	12 articles by BROWDER for Spadea	3/4/54	SA JOHN J. McMANUS	100-25693- 1a138
T-3 Spot check surveillance	Residence	1/20, 21/54	SA DANIEL H. LUCKING	100-25693- 1182
T-4 [redacted]	Induction of FELIX BROWDER	12/1/53	SA WILLARD C. GILES	100-25693- 1170 b7D
T-5 NY 694-S	JUNE CROLL	9/20/53	SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON	100-25693- 1153 (orally)] X(u)

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished	Location
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T-6 Documentation of JUNE CROLL
CS NY 425-S

T-7 [CG 5824-S]	BROWDER and MARCANTONIO	2/5/54	SA CARL N. FREYMAN	100-25693-1199	[(b)(4) b7D]
T-8 []	BROWDER and KIM activities	4/28; 5/8, 11, 14/53	SA ARTHUR J. HEALY	100-25693-1162	
T-9 []	Speeches of BROWDER, 1943, 1944, 1945	6/16/53	SA JOHN E. KEARY	100-25693-1176	b7D
T-10 []	EARL BROWDER and Commonwealth College	2/24/53	Bulet, 2/24/53	100-25693-1159	
T-11 []	Influence on NPPR	3/10/54	SA ALEXANDER C, BURLINSON	100-25693-1204	b7D
T-12 []	Documentation of JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER				b7D

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MISCELLANEOUS

ReNYlet to Bureau 9/30/53 entitled, "MASK;
ESPIONAGE - R", Bufile [redacted] which reports information
furnished to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON on 9/15/53 by
NY 694-S. ~~(X)(u)~~

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It was reported that from about 1931 to 1945 when EARL BROWDER headed the CP USA, messages to and from Moscow were sent by cablegram through World Tourists, Inc., 23rd St. and Fifth Ave., NYC, which was operated by JACOB GOLOS. Cablegrams from Moscow were not opened by GOLOS but were picked up daily by a person designated by BROWDER as a courier. The courier delivered these cablegrams to a decoder in the office or home of a trusted individual. When the messages were decoded, the original courier delivered them to BROWDER at the national headquarters of the CP in NYC. ~~(X)(u)~~

The decoder utilized an RCA code book and key, the latter obtained by BROWDER probably in Moscow about once every two years. The messages received through World Tourists, Inc. concerned arrivals and departures in and from Moscow of important persons, CP couriers, delegates and students, and also concerned Plenums and international conferences held in Moscow. The messages frequently concerned individuals from Mexico, Central America and South America, particularly if they were arriving in NYC from Moscow enroute their homes, and would be consequently contacting EARL BROWDER. ~~(X)(u)~~

Although the messages did not appear to cover policy or espionage matters, the individuals' names may have carried instructions on such matters. BROWDER was also reported to be a decoder in this setup. ~~(X)(u)~~

On 10/3/53 NY 694-S advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON that he had met SAM CARR on 9/26/53 in Toronto, Canada, and was told by CARR that at the time of the RUBENS-ROBINSON passport fraud case in the late 1930's, EARL BROWDER had told TIM BUCK and CARR "to stay clear of ~~(X)(u)~~

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MISCELLANEOUS (CONT'D)

"of the Russians, and not to touch any Russian business lest he implicate the CP." The Russians, according to BROWDER, were "peculiar, unpredictable people who could cause trouble." ~~(u)~~

NY 694-S advised on 3/7/54 that he had on 3/6/54 accidentally met CP member, BERNARD SCHUSTER, who told him that on the night Soviet agent JACOB GOLOS died, he himself had rushed to EARL BROWDER and told him it was urgent to see what sort of papers GOLOS had in his possession. BROWDER told SCHUSTER, "don't worry about it; that is being taken care of." SCHUSTER commented that BROWDER was a fool to have trusted ELIZABETH BENTLEY in this matter. ~~(u)~~

SCHUSTER stated also that when BUDENZ defected and left the CP, he went to BROWDER and asked what should be done pointing out to BROWDER that BUDENZ knew of SCHUSTER's involvement in the infiltration of the Trotskyites. BROWDER reportedly shrugged that there was nothing that could be done. ~~(u)~~

On 1/23/54 JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS contacted Resident Agent GERALD J. FLYNN, Suffern, NY, advising that EARL BROWDER indicated he would like to talk to the FBI, and that she contemplated bringing him to the Resident Agent on either 2/1 or 3/54 for interview. She stated that the chances he would be willing to talk about those characters whom he considered dangerous to the welfare of the US were very good.

This meeting did not materialize according to ADAMS because of the ill health of BROWDER's wife.

On 2/10/54 Miss ADAMS again advised that BROWDER would appear for interview on the following day. She reported that BROWDER was reluctant to appear since his wife might miss him, and gain the impression he was talking to the FBI and make things difficult. He failed again to

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MISCELLANEOUS (CONT'D)

appear on 3/4/54 which ADAMS had set as the time of BROWDER's probable visit.

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow presence of subject in the Southern District of New York and report on his activities.

REFERENCE: Report of SA WILLIAM T. COOK, 9/3/53, at New York.

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